/47 cont./

244 221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 464 221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. [434] And since the changa is one of the few means available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/, [245] inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 182 241 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 296 221 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Nemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 221 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/69 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Nandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 • 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Nandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

2: Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized government of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, -- on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief -- Ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

indication, quite important to the southern groups and to the Cayuá.[*] Sweet potatoes may have been more important in the south than in the equatorial north, if we consider only the Tupi-Guarani.

Far more impressive than the differences of degree of use of various plants, both wild and cultivated, are the similarities of kind. The list of plants for the north is surprisingly close to that for the south, and it would be interesting to know to what extent the similarity may be explained on the grounds of cultural diffusion and to what extent on grounds of climatic and phytogeographic similarities. The use of wild plants for food is also parallel with the north although plant geography is obviously more directly influential here.

Manioc, corn, sweet potatoes, beans, squashes, peanuts, *cará* (*Dioscorea sp.*), *mangára* (*Aroideæ sp.*), *mbakuhá* (a *leguminosa*), watermelons, bananas (?) pineapples, and papaya were among the most important crops. Manioc, corn, and sweet potatoes were the primary crops, to judge somewhat but not solely by the present. Several varieties of manioc were recognised, and probably both the bitter and the sweet were known, although it does not appear that bitter manioc was used to the same extent in the south that it was in the north. A number of varieties of both corn and potatoes were recognized. Corn was distinguished by whether it was the flinty type or the soft, starchy kind and, within the latter class, also by color. The Cayuá, presumably in the past as at present, attempted to keep separate their plantations of different kinds of corn within the limits of their crude appreciation of the manner of intermixture. Sweet potatoes, like corn, were distinguished by color (of the pulp), and about seven kinds were thus named. They range from the whitish, through the purple and reddish kinds, to the light yellow and the bright orange-yellow. The latter are similar to what are sometimes called "yams" in this country. Judging only from the present, little attempt was made to plant and harvest sweet potatoes according to color.

Technologically, the agriculture of the Cayuá was of the familiar tropical slash-and-burn type, with definitely recognized stages in the process. First the small brush and trees were cut, and then the larger trees, though only as many of them as seemed absolutely necessary or possible within the limits of available equipment. (The large trees were not so readily felled, of course, as they are at present by the use of steel axes.) The fallen vegetation was allowed to lie for a while to dry in the sun, the dry winter season of the year usually therefore being chosen for the cutting. When sufficiently dry, or if wet weather impended, the slash was fired. Sometimes slash was piled about the trunks of standing trees or unburned fallen logs by way of gradually

[*] If Neo-Brazilian acculturation today is any indication, it does seem as if the indigenous North developed the use of manioc to a higher degree than the South (and probably developed the use of corn somewhat less than the South). That is, the present-day use of manioc by whites is more developed in the North than the South.

[178]*

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

marily the cultivators, although presumably the Jesuits had tended to change the aboriginal roles of the sexes in the agriculture of the missions.[80] Little more can be said at this time as to the nature of Jesuit influences.

DECAY OF THE MISSIONS AND FRONTIER DISTURBANCES, 1768 TO *CA.* 1832

The post-Jesuit period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties in the region of the missions. These doubtless also had their repercussions in the affairs of the Cayuá. The confusions and abuses occasioned by the change from Jesuit administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any administration at all, were aggravated by the conflicts involved in the separation of Spain's Platine provinces from the mother country. Strife among the various former Spanish colonies finally resulted in the political forerunners of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through Brazil) became embroiled in a struggle for possession of the lands of modern Uruguay. These political changes often were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

The reverberations of European colonial politics directly affected the fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the missions. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other, and their mission towns were sacked, besieged, used for barracks, or destroyed. The missions were also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians were frankly controverted in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan of Bucarelli."[81] Concern for the welfare of the missionized as distinct from the unmissionized indigenes diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the mission towns themselves was closely followed by the dissolution of the unusual social order instituted by the Jesuits.

During the post-Jesuit period the extraction of *maté* provided a continuing means for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jesuit times. There had early grown up some commerce in the teastuff, both within the Platine colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of *maté* for beverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should often bring the *yerbateros*, or *yerba* (*maté*) workers, into brief but recurring contact with the forest peoples. Getting out the *maté* leaves in large quantities involved going into the forests, and preferably forests which had not already been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best *maté* groves seem then to have been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied by the "woods Indians" or Cayuá. Azara[82] and Rengger,[83] both writing during the period in question, not only indicate *yerbatero* contact with woods Indians, but Rengger, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

[80] Rengger, 1835, pp. 115–116.
[81] Cf. Hernández, 1913.
[82] Azara, 1904, pp. 407–408.
[83] Rengger, 1835, p. 111 and p. 131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

the Cayuá as receiving trade goods, tools, ponchos, machetes, and knives, in exchange usually for their services in cutting *maíz*, but sometimes for food supplied to *yerbateros*. One of the Cayuá met by Rengger on his journey in the early 1800's had been raised by a *yerbatero* family of creole Paraguayans and could say the *bendito*.[84] Rengger observed also that traditional hair styles and the perforation of the lip to permit the use of the *tembeitá* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.[85]

RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED MIGRATIONS, 1832 TO 1850

During the first half of the 19th century, some Cayuá and other Guarani-speaking peoples from the southwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) regions emigrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they seem impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guarani peoples,[86] the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocuva-Guarani, Cayuá, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1832–1850, are those which von Ihering[87] used to date the period between the first appearance of the Cayuá in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulses, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Cayuá, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guarani peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Unkel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1900's with small remnants, largely "Apapocuva-Guarani," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Christian prayer.

[85] There is no way to be sure that the instances of acculturation given by Rengger are necessarily due entirely to *yerbateros* and not in part to Jesuit mission influences. Nor can we be sure that Rengger is applying the term for "Woods Indians" only to ancestors of the present Cayuá and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guarani-speakers. The groups visited by Rengger were, of course, those more accessible to civilization, and contact with *yerbateros* and other creoles may have been much less or actually non-existant at that time somewhat farther to the north. (A member of the Cayuá group at Tsquapiri, certainly no older than 50 years, insisted in 1943 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This seems doubtful, since trade goods have certainly been among them for more than fifty years.) Rengger's comments do indicate, however, the general forest frontier conditions which prevailed regarding the Guarani-speaking groups.

[86] Cf. Métraux, 1927. [87] Von Ihering, 1907.

G 184 464 /103 cont./ damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those

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161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G 511 433 This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G 184 233 511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not